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the whole most constructive and most hopeful. This conclusion is drawn from no facts not easily to be ascertained by any one interested. The fifth Year Book of the Endowment for 1916 is just off the press. Its two hundred pages indicate a conscientious and systematic endeavor on the part of many intelligent and forward-looking persons.

A few facts gathered from these pages will, we think, justify our estimate of this service. Over 1,800 disbursements have been made during the year, totaling over \$600,000. It has distributed over 230,000 publications. It has added to its library during the year over 6,500 publications. As a bureau of general information it has been of wide service. Its secretary is special adviser to the Department of State and chairman to the Joint State and Navy Neutrality Board. It has sent Mr. Robert Bacon through the principal South American republics and published a record of his journey in Spanish, Portuguese, and English. It has sent former Senator Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, through many of the countries of South America and published a report of his journey. It has within a year spent over \$100,000 in the entertainment of invited delegates to the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, and entertained over one hundred persons from the time of their departure from their homes in Central and South America to their return. It made possible the definite organization of the American Institute of International Law and the final organization of a society of international law in each of the twenty other American republics. Its assistant secretary is the executive secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union.

In addition to its five Year Books, the Endowment has published nine books and pamphlets under the Division of Intercourse and Education; four under the Division of Economics and History; twenty-two pamphlets and twelve books under the Division of International Law. Among these last are *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907*; *Grotius' The Freedom of the Seas*; *The Status of the International Court of Justice*; *An Essay on a Congress of Nations for the Adjustment of International Disputes without Resort to Arms*, by William Ladd; *The Hague Court Reports*; *Diplomatic Documents Relating to the European War*.

In addition to activities such as these, we may call attention also to the following: The support given to the American Association for International Conciliation; its European Bureau; its "special correspondence"; its entertainment of distinguished foreigners; its continued research work, including South American relations and a study of the present war; its co-operation with the Institute of International Law; its initiation of an Academy of International Law; its aid to jour-

nals of international law; its collection and publication of arbitration treaties, and its support of educational propaganda within the United States.

These facts, we repeat, tell a story of constructive and hopeful international endeavor. Our personal belief is that this great fund is being expended with as much wisdom as can reasonably be expected and with results as effective as the times permit.

IS PEACE IN SIGHT?

THERE are evidences that the war may be over within a year. The du Pont powder mills are beginning to reduce the number of their employees. The demand for American steel plates for the construction of merchant vessels is increasing around the globe. Orders for war material are covering shorter periods of time. The Westinghouse Air Brake Company is dismantling some of its munition machinery. Other war-order plants are planning to convert their factories to other uses. The activity of the Bulls upon Wall Street is thought by many to indicate an optimistic hope for post-bellum orders for American reconstruction materials. The "Left," or radical, side of the German Reichstag is increasing in power, which is thought to indicate a change of German temper toward an early peace. There are evidences that the Russian Duma is increasing in power for the same reason. Maximilian Harden, called "the herald of coming changes," and by the Allies the "Gentleman Hun," is talking more and more of peace.

But the other side is, we fear, the face of the shield. France must have Alsace-Lorraine; Belgium and Serbia must be restored and indemnified; the German colonies must be surrendered; Constantinople must go to Russia; Trieste and the Trentino to Italy. The most Germany could at present propose would be a return to the map of Europe at the outbreak of the war. Later she may suggest that Metz be given France and that Austria present Trentino to Italy. But this would leave open the whole Balkan question and the pan-Germanic hope in the direction of Bagdad. There is no evidence that Germany is starving or that she is thinking in the least of defeat. The German under-secretary for foreign affairs, Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, said but a few days ago: "Unless our enemies are convinced by the failure of their efforts that they cannot improve their military position, it is useless to consider the question of peace." The attitude of the Allies is in substance that there can be no peace talk until Poland, Belgium, and Serbia are freed of the invader; until Russian armies are camped on the plains of Hungary, and until the Franco-British trenches are abreast the Rhine. Germany is in no position to consider such proposals favorably.

But more discouraging than any of these things is the growing spread of hatred and of reprisal generating among both belligerents. We are just beginning to learn the full significance of the Paris Conference in June last. If the governments uphold the recommendations of this conference, there will continue, even after the war, a relentless campaign against the commercial interests of the Central Powers. From the reports of this conference we gather that the vindictive spirit of revenge shall be aimed even at the German arts and sciences. The importance of this attitude is so serious, not only for the present but for the long future, that we are running elsewhere in these pages the terms of the proposed agreement to take effect at the close of the present war. The point here is that such a program not only postpones the end of the present war, but hastens the coming of the next.

DARKNESS BEFORE THE DAWN

UNTIL comparatively recent generations wars were waged against combatants and non-combatants indiscriminately. This was notably the case in the wars of the European Middle Ages, illustrated by the wholesale Albigenian slaughters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Unrestricted license was allowed to the soldiers of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries, both as regards property and women. The horrors of the Thirty Years' War, ending with the treaty of Westphalia of 1648, were thought, however, to have brought about a change, especially toward non-combatants. The eighteenth century wars seemed on the whole less cruel toward and destructive of non-combatants than those of the preceding century, while the wars of the nineteenth century seemed to show a still greater improvement. The Franco-German war seemed less ferocious toward civil populations than the Napoleonic wars. In 1899 twenty-six nations aimed collectively and officially to confine all war to regular and controlled forces, in the interest not only of non-combatants, but of a higher humanity.

The present war presents many evidences of a return to the practices of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The principle of *Schrecklichkeit*, of terrorizing the civil population, has been revived. Private property and non-combatant persons have been ruthlessly destroyed. Viscount Bryce says flatly that "Outrages upon women have been far more numerous than in any war between civilized nations during the last hundred years." Wholesale murders, in the name of "hostages," of innocent non-combatants because of the offenses of indiscoverable "snipers," have been frequent.

It is discouraging, of course, that we have been unable to regulate or mitigate this oldest, this most ancient of curses, war. It is all but an illustration of

the principle for which we have long contended, namely, that it is impossible to draft laws of war. We do not draft laws of burglary, of arson, or of murder. We legislate against them.

We shall emerge from this war into a new world, and in that new world men will aim to make a better job of it than they have made of it heretofore. The old methods have led back to the gulfs of barbarism. What we called science, education, culture, religion, civilization, humanity, have proved to be puerile and ineffective. The world has tumbled in one direction, and to one end only, namely, Hell.

In the new world, at the peace, there will be one dominant aim, namely, the reconstruction of society for the purpose of overcoming the ravages of the past. Men of vision will wish to refashion the world into one freed from unreasonable and unreasoning passions. They will turn the searchlight of analytical thinking upon the ancient wrongs perpetrated in the congress of Vienna, in the congress of Berlin, in the various partitions in Poland, Denmark, France, and the Balkans. They will strive as never before to overcome the bootless tyrannies, the dynastic ambitions, and the fetish of "divine rights" backed by the feudal might of militarism. The present sacrifice can serve no purpose save the end that such a sacrifice may not again be necessary. Hence, there will be a demand for a new world society, a new dispensation. This dispensation must necessarily take the direction of a finer democracy, of a world in which it will be possible to live tolerably and with that creative purpose without which there is no real life.

To these ends the cultivation of revenge as a national policy, the formulation of "laws of war," will be seen to be bad business. It will not do to reconstruct the world again in the interest of a commerce subservient only to political chicanery, to set up financial systems for the sole purpose of exploiting the credit of other peoples. The aim must be toward a more intelligent mutual understanding, the interchange of ideas, and the cultivation of rational relations, sympathies, and hopes. The wars of the future must be wars not of brawn, but of brains, and there will be ample opportunity for the exercise of mind. To reform the methods of trade, to democratize finance, to break down anti-social monopolies, to harmonize capital and labor, to enlarge the productivity of the nation, to facilitate transportation and other forms of exchange, to base governments upon constructive business principles, these constitute no small task. But they constitute the task that will face the world at the close of this war. The task will be accomplished by us in America, if it be accomplished, in the direction of a greater freedom and a profounder justice for all within as well as for those without.